

HON GERRY BROWNLEE, MINISTER OF DEFENCE

International Response to the Threat of ISIL: Possible New Zealand Contribution

February 2015

This publication provides information on Cabinet's 23 February 2015 decision to make a military contribution to a joint Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji, for a period of two years from the time of arrival in Iraq, and deployment of staff officers as soon as practicable.

The pack comprises the following documents:

- The Cabinet minute of decision: *International Response to the Threat of ISIL: Possible New Zealand Contribution* [CAB Min (15) 5/8]
- The Cabinet paper: *International Response to the Threat of ISIL: Possible New Zealand Contribution* [CAB (15) 71]

This pack has been released on the Ministry of Defence website, available at: www.defence.govt.nz/publications.

It has been necessary to withhold certain information in accordance with the following provisions of the Official Information Act 1982. Where information is withheld, the relevant sections of the Act are indicated in the body of the document. Where information has been withheld in accordance with section 9(2) of the Act, no public interest has been identified that would outweigh the reasons for withholding it.

Information is withheld where making it available would be likely:

- To prejudice the security or defence of New Zealand or the international relations of the Government of New Zealand [section 6(a)]
- To prejudice the entrusting of information to the Government of New Zealand on the basis of confidence by the Government of any other country [section 6(b)(i)].
- To endanger the safety of any person [section 6(d)]

Information is also withheld in order to:

- maintain the effective conduct of public affairs through the free and frank expression of opinions by or between or to Ministers of the Crown or members of an organisation or officers and employees of any department or organisation in the course of their duty [section 9(2)(g)(i)]
- maintain legal professional privilege [section 9(2)(h)]
- enable a Minister of the Crown or any department or organisation holding the information to carry out, without prejudice or disadvantage, negotiations [section 9(2)(j)].



Minute of Decision

This document contains information for the New Zealand Cabinet. It must be treated in confidence and handled in accordance with any security classification, or other endorsement. The information can only be released, including under the Official Information Act 1982, by persons with the appropriate authority.

International Response to the Threat of ISIL: Possible New Zealand Contribution

Portfolios: Defence / Foreign Affairs

On 23 February 2015, Cabinet:

1 noted that the Islamic State in Iraq (ISIL) represents a multi-dimensional threat to international peace and security, including to New Zealand and New Zealand's interests;

2 noted that the Government of Iraq has requested international security assistance to help it combat ISIL, as well as to provide humanitarian and development support;

3 noted that Australia and New Zealand have explored a potential Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji, Iraq, to train Iraqi Security Forces;

4 noted that this mission would provide a positive contribution towards our objectives of reducing the global threat from ISIL in keeping with New Zealand's size and capacity;

5

6(a)

6 noted that national security agencies are working to identify, monitor and mitigate domestic threats, and will advise Ministers on any changes to the domestic situation and their implications as appropriate;

7

6(a)

8

9(2)(j)

9 noted that officials:

9.1 will negotiate alternative legal arrangements with Iraq to provide protections to the New Zealand deployment;

9.2

9(2)(j)

- 10 **noted** that further advice will be provided to the group of Ministers with Power to Act listed in paragraph 12 setting out the proposed threat mitigation measures, command arrangements, training arrangements and the outcomes of discussions with Iraq on the legal status of NZDF personnel in Iraq following the reconnaissance visit and further discussions with the Iraqi Government;
- 11 **agreed**, subject to the agreement of the Ministers with Power to Act to the advice referred to in paragraph 10, that New Zealand make a military contribution to a joint Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji, consisting of the deployment of 106 personnel to Taji, and 37 personnel to coalition headquarters and support locations in the region, for a period of two years from the time of arrival in Iraq, with a review occurring after nine months for subsequent consideration by Cabinet;
- 12 **authorised** the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Attorney-General and the Minister of Foreign Affairs to have Power to Act to confirm the final Building Partner Capacity deployment;
- 13 **agreed** to the deployment of staff officers as soon as practicable 6(9)
- 14 **authorised** the Minister of Defence, in consultation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to make adjustments to the deployment in response to operational requirements, provided that these adjustments do not significantly change numbers, the cost or the intent of the mission;
- 15 **noted** that in March 2012, the Cabinet External Relations and Defence Committee:
- 15.1 agreed to the inclusion in all Cabinet submissions establishing or renewing operational mandates of a provision that allows the NZDF to temporarily exceed Cabinet-mandated personnel numbers for the purposes of command reconnaissance, rotation, and extraction of forces in and out of theatre;
- 15.2 agreed that the Chief of Defence Force be required to inform the Minister of Defence in advance whenever this occurs;
- [ERD Min (12) 2/6]
- 16 **confirmed** the decision set out in paragraph 15;
- 17 **noted** that the Chief of Defence Force will inform the Minister of Defence in advance whenever Cabinet-mandated personnel numbers are exceeded for the reasons set out in paragraph 15;
- 18 **noted** that officials will explore options to establish a diplomatic presence in Baghdad, Iraq, to supplement the formal accreditation to Iraq which sits with the New Zealand Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, to support the Building Partner Capacity mission;
- 19 **noted** that the full suite of possible diplomatic contributions will continue to be assessed as the coalition work programme develops, but will include:
- 19.1 work in the United Nations Security Council;
- 19.2 augmented engagement with regional and multilateral forums in counter terrorism cooperation;
- 19.3 bolstering of New Zealand's security relationships in the Middle East;

- 19.4 closer cooperation with partners in South East Asia;
- 19.5 participating in the coalition working groups on Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Countering Terrorist Financing;
- 20 **noted** that the total estimated marginal cost of the proposed New Zealand Defence Force Building Partner Capacity deployment for a period of two years from 1 May 2015 to 30 April 2017 is assessed at \$65.250 million;
- 21 **noted** that the total estimated costs of the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment of \$8.930 million in 2014-2015 can be met from within the existing funded Multi Category Appropriation 'Operations Contributing to New Zealand's Security, Stability and Interests' in Vote Defence Force without any impact on the operating balance or budget allowances;
- 22 **noted** the total estimated cost of the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment in 2015-2016 of \$30.720 million and in 2016-2017 of \$25.600 million is unable to be met from the currently planned appropriations in Vote Defence Force and will require an additional appropriation of \$15.526 million in 2015-2016 and \$9.847 million in 2016-2017 respectively;
- 23 **noted** that some costs for the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment are yet to be finalised and should the final cost estimates materially change from those outlined in the paper under CAB (15) 71 a separate submission will be provided to Cabinet by the NZDF to update the costs;
- 24 **approved** the following changes to appropriations with a corresponding impact on the operating balance:

Vote Defence Force Minister of Defence	\$m – increase/(decrease)				
	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19 & Outyears
Multi Category Appropriation:					
Operations Contributing to New Zealand's Security, Stability and Interests					
Departmental Output Expense:					
Military Operations in Support of a:					
- Rules-based International Order		15.526	9.847	0.000	0.000
- Building Partner Capacity mission					
Total Operating	0.000	15.526	9.847	0.000	0.000

25 **agreed** that the expenses incurred under paragraph 11 be charged as a pre-commitment against the Budget 2015 operating allowance.

Secretary of the Cabinet

Reference: CAB (15) 71

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Cabinet,

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF ISIL: POSSIBLE NEW ZEALAND CONTRIBUTION

PURPOSE

1 This paper invites Cabinet to consider New Zealand's participation in a Building Partner Capacity mission in Iraq in support of comprehensive efforts by the international coalition to counter the threat of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). It also notes diplomatic and humanitarian contributions underway or, otherwise, under consideration.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

2 ISIL is a significant threat to international peace and security. ISIL's growth, resources, ambition and sophisticated information operations are unprecedented. Moreover, its ability to motivate Muslim radicals and recruit Foreign Terrorist Fighters to its ranks makes it a threat not only to the stability of the Middle East but also a security threat across the globe, including to New Zealand and other countries within our immediate region.

3 Following a request from the Government of Iraq, the major international response to ISIL is through the international coalition led by the US and the UK. The coalition strategy contains a comprehensive approach of which a military campaign is one part. There are currently 62 countries that have signalled or provided some form of assistance to the coalition with 21 countries being core contributors to the military campaign.

4 The military campaign to counter ISIL contains four main components: [REDACTED] [6(a)] Building Partner Capacity missions in Iraq; [REDACTED] [6(a)].

5 As part of investigations into a comprehensive New Zealand response to ISIL, Defence officials were authorised in November 2014 to send a scoping team to the Middle East and to engage with partners to seek more information on the Building Partner Capacity mission and to inform Ministers on how New Zealand could potentially contribute. These representations and preliminary scoping work by the New Zealand Defence Force show that a New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission:

- Is feasible;

- Offers real potential for a positive and measurable New Zealand contribution to military counter-ISIL efforts; and
- Would be valued by Iraq and coalition partners.

6 The purpose of the coalition Building Partner Capacity mission in Iraq is to provide training to the Iraqi Security Forces¹ in order to prepare for operations to degrade ISIL. Training would cover a broad range of individual and organisational military skills, such as basic weapons skills; individual and unit military skills to prepare for combat operations; planning and conducting combat operations; and medical and logistics support to operations. Training would also be provided to Iraqi Security Forces so that they can assume responsibility for the delivery of the training programme.

7 As a result of these investigations, it is recommended that Cabinet take a decision to deploy a New Zealand Defence Force training mission to Iraq. The mission would be non-combat and deployment would be alongside the Australian Defence Force. The proposed base for the New Zealand and Australian Building Partner Capacity mission would be at the Taji Military Complex (hereafter 'Taji'), north of Baghdad.

8 In support of the main deployment to Taji, it is recommended that Cabinet take the decision to deploy staff officers to coalition headquarters roles in Baghdad [REDACTED]

[6(a)].

9 Based on the results of initial scoping activities, it is recommended that 106 New Zealand Defence Force personnel be deployed to Taji as part of the Building Partner Capacity mission, with 37 additional personnel in support of that mission to key headquarters and logistics locations in the region. The deployment would be for a period of two years with a review occurring after nine months for subsequent consideration by Cabinet. If approved, the main body of New Zealand Defence Force personnel would be expected to deploy to Iraq in May 2015. Staff officers would be deployed sooner.

10 [REDACTED]

[9(2)(g)(i)] Potential threats to New Zealand and other coalition personnel in Iraq include insider attacks, direct attacks on the base by insurgents and indirect fire. A comprehensive package of force protection measures would be required to protect New Zealand personnel.

11 The legal status under which New Zealand Defence Force personnel would be deployed remains an issue to be resolved. [REDACTED]

[6(a)]

However, should the Building Partner Capacity Mission be approved, officials would continue to seek the strongest possible protection for New Zealand Defence Force personnel. The deployment of the Building Partner Capacity mission would remain

¹ Formed units of the Iraqi Army.

subject to reaching an appropriate arrangement with the Government of Iraq on the legal status of New Zealand's deployed forces.

12 Combating ISIL will be a long term endeavour. Alongside the short-term military contribution, this paper also notes evolving and longer term diplomatic and humanitarian contributions that New Zealand intends to make to the international fight against ISIL.

BACKGROUND

13 Iraq has requested security assistance from the international community in a number of areas, including ground support, logistics, intelligence and training support. This request was set out by Iraq in a letter to the United Nations Security Council in June 2014.

14 On 3 November 2014, Ministers authorised the deployment of a New Zealand Defence Force scoping team to travel to the Middle East and undertake further engagement with partner countries to seek more information on Building Partner Capacity efforts in Iraq and inform advice to Ministers on how New Zealand could potentially contribute.

15

[REDACTED]

[6(a)]

16 These military consultations and the preliminary scoping work have been complemented by political and diplomatic consultations with partner governments, in particular Australia.

17 On 5 November 2014, in a speech to the New Zealand Institute for International Affairs, the Prime Minister signalled the Government's general willingness for New Zealand to play a part in capacity building efforts in Iraq.

18 On 10 February, the Minister of Defence granted permission for the New Zealand Defence Force to undertake specific contingency training for a possible deployment to Iraq. This did not pre-empt any Cabinet decisions but was considered prudent preparation.

19 On 13 February, Iraq's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Ibrahim al-Ja'afari visited New Zealand. He stated during his visit that Iraq needed international security assistance (as well as development and humanitarian assistance) and would welcome further support from New Zealand. Minister al-Ja'afari made clear [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] that international support was needed to strengthen Iraq's [REDACTED] [6(a)] security capacity, and a New Zealand contribution in this area would be welcome.

COMMENT

20 One aspect of the international response to ISIL is a Building Partner Capacity mission in Iraq, aimed at building the capacity of the Iraqi Security Forces to sufficient levels so that they can independently conduct ground operations to degrade ISIL.

21 New Zealand participation in a Building Partner Capacity mission would contribute to the broader coalition objectives of promoting stability in the region, degrading ISIL's strength, diminishing ISIL's appeal, and ultimately reduce the threat it poses to international security.

22 This Cabinet paper reports the findings of the defence scoping team and other political and officials-level engagements with partner countries, and outlines what a recommended New Zealand contribution would involve.

What is ISIL?

23 ISIL is a Sunni extremist group currently occupying large parts of northern Iraq and northern Syria, with its main stronghold in Raqqa, Syria. It grew out of local insurgencies following the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq. Initially affiliated with al-Qaeda, power struggles caused a split and the group's rebranding to Islamic State in 2014. Impressive military gains in Syria and Iraq last year, including the capture of Iraq's second city, Mosul, were accompanied by significant and widespread human rights abuses (including executions), the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi and Syrian civilians and a subsequent humanitarian crisis.

24 ISIL's basic ideology is a misinterpretation of Islam and is based on control, discrimination and widespread abuse, torture and killings. It seems to have broad and popular global appeal to a niche Muslim population attracted to extremist messages. ISIL's brutality is an essential part of its narrative – it is calculated to shock and to create an aura of invincibility. Combined with a sophisticated use of social media, ISIL has assumed an almost cult-like status, attracting supporters and allegiances from marginalised and disenfranchised groups from all corners, including terrorist groups and non-Muslims, and continues to draw more Foreign Terrorist Fighters to its ranks.

25 ISIL is well-financed and well-armed. Its sources of income include extortion, oil revenue, the sale of antiquities, kidnapping for ransom and international financing. It is estimated that ISIL has around 20,000-30,000 fighters and it uses sophisticated military hardware, including US equipment left behind by the fleeing Iraqi army in 2014.

26 As a result of ISIL's active recruitment, it is estimated that 12,000-15,000 of ISIL's forces in Syria and Iraq are Foreign Terrorist Fighters, including 3,000 who hold Western passports. The flow of Foreign Terrorist Fighters into the Iraq and Syrian conflicts is exacerbating the instability in the region and creating significant risks that

ISIL's brand of terrorism will be exported around the world when these Foreign Terrorist Fighters eventually return home or head elsewhere. Likewise, ISIL's exhortations to its global supporters to take up the fight in their own countries (many western countries, including Australia, have been referenced as targets) make it a truly global threat.

Threats to New Zealand from ISIL

27 New Zealand faces a variety of threats from ISIL at the domestic, regional and international levels.

28 Threats to New Zealand's domestic security and New Zealanders abroad, include:

- An increased risk (albeit from a low base) of violent extremism or terrorist acts being carried out in New Zealand by radicalised individuals in support of ISIL;
- New risks to national security from any Foreign Terrorist Fighters returning home radicalised and with military training; and
- An increasing generalised risk to the direct safety and well-being of expatriate or travelling New Zealanders who could be victims of ISIL-inspired terrorist activities offshore.

29 Threats to Asia-Pacific regional security include:

- ISIL spreading its radicalising influence, promoting terrorist financing rings, recruiting Foreign Terrorist Fighters and prompting ISIL-inspired terrorist acts in an area where groups are prone to radicalisation and which is geographically close and economically important to New Zealand (and a popular destination for New Zealand expatriates and tourists); and
- Significant domestic security concerns [REDACTED] [6(a)] key regional partners [REDACTED] [6(a)].

30 Finally, ISIL and its global network threaten the security of the Middle East and international peace and security more generally, including by:

- The significant risk that Iraq (and Syria) will come to constitute a permanent base, and inspiration, for extremists;
- Exacerbating tensions in the Middle East that may create new fragility in, and between, key regional countries in a region of international geostrategic importance;
- Disrupting trade in a region that is of increasing economic importance to New Zealand;

- Undermining the rules-based international order by disregarding governmental authority, national sovereignty and the rule of law; and
- Defying international humanitarian standards (that New Zealand and the rest of international community, including the United Nations, are committed to upholding) by committing a series of morally reprehensible and illegal atrocities with impunity.

31 In this regard see paragraphs 98-102 concerning New Zealand's international engagement to address these challenges.

The challenge of ISIL in Iraq and Syria

32 Domestically, Iraq faces a number of challenges. Iraq is a multi-faith country, with a Shi'a-dominated government and historically divided along sectarian and tribal lines.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)].

33 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)].

34 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)].

The international coalition

35 The international community has recognised the global threat that ISIL poses and the limited capacity of countries in the Middle East region to confront it alone. Iraq has sought assistance in its efforts to defeat ISIL from the international community via a request to the United Nations Security Council. In response over 60 countries, led by the US and the UK and including Arab states and many Western countries, have come together to form a counter-ISIL coalition.

36 The coalition strategy to degrade ISIL is based on five lines of effort:

- 1) Supporting military operations and training local forces – essentially undertaking air strikes against ISIL in Iraq/Syria and separately building Iraq's capacity to degrade ISIL in Iraq;
- 2) Stopping Foreign Terrorist Fighters, primarily through domestic law enforcement and passport control measures, and building the capacity of others in this regard;
- 3) Disrupting ISIL's access to revenue, including through sanctions and counter-financing measures and capacity building;
- 4) Delivering humanitarian relief in Syria and Iraq; and
- 5) Providing a counter narrative to undermine ISIL's ideology and appeal.

37 Of these lines of effort, the military line is the most advanced due to the urgent need to halt the initial advance of ISIL into Iraq. There are currently 21 core contributors to the military counter-ISIL campaign within a broader group of countries that have signalled or provided some form of assistance (such as through humanitarian aid). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(b)(i)]. The coalition recognises that the other lines of effort need to be further developed and is looking to establish working groups to progress each of these.

38 [REDACTED] [6(a)].
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [9(2)(g)(i)]

39 The most urgent need is therefore the military degradation of ISIL in Iraq, restoring the country's territorial integrity and maintaining security in liberated areas. There is recognition, both by the Iraqi government and internationally, that local security forces currently lack the ability to counter ISIL alone. Iraq has therefore sought help from the international community to build its security capacity.

40 Iraq is determined, however, that military ground operations to clear ISIL from its territory must be undertaken by Iraqi forces alone, with the exception of a small number of Advise, Assist and Accompany missions. [REDACTED]

[6(a)].

The coalition military campaign

41 Within the overall coalition effort, the military campaign comprises four main components:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- Building Partner Capacity missions; and

[REDACTED] [6(a)]

42 Officials have investigated a range of options for how New Zealand could potentially either make a direct contribution under, or a contribution in support of, these four pillars. A contribution to a Building Partner Capacity mission is recommended as the most appropriate for a New Zealand contribution. In the short to medium-term, a Building Partner Capacity mission would strike a balance between providing the much-needed training support to Iraqi forces, while not undermining the authority of the Iraqi government. Given its past experience in the provision of training to foreign forces, it is also a pillar under which the New Zealand Defence Force could make an effective contribution.

43 Building Partner Capacity contributions are explicitly about training and do not constitute combat missions, in line with Ministers' direction that New Zealand not deploy in such a role in Iraq. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)]. The option of training the Kurdish Security Forces (Peshmerga) was quickly taken up by European coalition contributors. Other potential avenues for a New Zealand military contribution included the provision of strategic airlift and staff officer placements. [REDACTED]

[9(2)(g)(i)]

44 Officials explored jointly with Australia the concept of participating in a joint Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji (just north of Baghdad). The purpose of the mission would be to provide training to the Iraq Security Forces to build their capacity to degrade ISIL. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] Unit training would cover a broad range of individual and organisational military skills in order to prepare Iraqi units for combat operations. Key training activities to be delivered by New Zealand and Australian trainers would include:

- Basic weapons skills;
- Individual and unit military skills to prepare for combat operations;
- Planning and conducting combat operations; and
- Medical and logistics to support operations.

45 Though the training programme is yet to be finalised, the New Zealand and Australian contingent would expect to train [REDACTED] [6(a)] Iraqi personnel [REDACTED] [6(a)] Training would also be provided to Iraqi Security Forces so that they can eventually assume responsibility for the delivery of the training programme.

46 It is recommended that Cabinet approve a New Zealand commitment to a joint Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity Mission, with the final deployment of the main New Zealand contingent subject to the Ministers satisfaction on proposed threat mitigation measures; command arrangements; training arrangements; the legal status of New Zealand Defence Force personnel in Iraq; and an Australian decision to undertake a Building Partner Capacity mission.

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A New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission

Deployment composition

47 The Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji would be made up of Australian and New Zealand Defence Force personnel with an approximately two thirds/one third split. With additional personnel required for support, logistics and other roles, it is proposed that Cabinet approve the deployment of up to 143 personnel for a New Zealand contribution. Given the spectrum of contributions made by coalition members and New Zealand's size and capacity, this would constitute a credible and substantive national commitment in an area where New Zealand has a proven ability to deliver tangible results.

48 In addition to and in support of the primary deployment of 106 personnel to Taji, it is proposed that New Zealand fill staff officer positions at coalition headquarters

[REDACTED]

[6(a)]

49 Given the significant workload generated by the insertion and sustainment of the proposed deployments to Iraq, additional New Zealand Defence Force personnel would be required

[REDACTED]

[6(a)]

50 Any new mission may require slight increases in specific functional areas to ensure the mission can maintain effectiveness.

[REDACTED]

[6(a)]

Any requirement to increase personnel numbers to address such situations would be closely coordinated with Australia given the joint nature of the deployment. Advice would be prepared for Ministers on these occasions.

51 New Zealand Defence Force Personnel would be deployed in Iraq and the region as follows:

Location	New Zealand Defence Force Personnel Numbers	Roles
Taji	106	Trainers, headquarters staff, force protection and logistics
Baghdad	■ [6(a)]	Staff officers at coalition headquarters.
Baghdad	■ [6(a)]	<div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> [6(a)]
■ [6(a)]	■ [6(a)]	<div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> [6(a)]
<div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="background-color: black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> [6(a)]	■ [6(a)]	New Zealand National Support Element
Location as required	■ [6(a)]	Operational contingency
Total Mandate	143	

52 In addition to the proposal above, other personnel and Royal New Zealand Air Force assets will occasionally need to be deployed to the region to support the mission, for example in support of personnel rotations and re-supply. In 2012, Cabinet approved a standing mandate [CAB Min (12) 10/2] to cover reliefs in place for overseas deployments. This mandate – “Sustainment of New Zealand Defence Force Deployed Forces” – agrees to the inclusion in all Cabinet submissions establishing or renewing operational mandates of a provision that allows the New Zealand Defence Force to temporarily exceed Cabinet-mandated personnel numbers for the purpose of command

■ [6(a)]

reconnaissance, rotation and extraction of forces in and out of theatre, and that the Chief of Defence Force will inform the Minister of Defence in advance whenever this occurs. It is recommended that this mandate now be re-affirmed.

53

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [6(a)]

Deployment timing and duration

54 It is recommended that a commitment to the Building Partner Capacity mission be for a period of two years from the time of arrival in Iraq, with a review occurring after nine months for subsequent consideration by Cabinet. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [6(a)]

Irrespective of this, a two year training commitment would provide a positive contribution in keeping with New Zealand's size and capacity.

55 Should Cabinet approve the proposed New Zealand contribution, deployment of the main body of the New Zealand Defence Force contingent is expected to occur in May 2015, This is based on current estimates and the exact date will be determined closer to the time and following further reconnaissance in Iraq. Further advice will be provided to Ministers on deployment timing.

56 It is recommended that the proposed staff officers be deployed as soon as practicable [REDACTED] [6(a)]. These headquarters positions will help inform preparations for the main deployment.

Threat assessment

57 A Building Partner Capacity mission would involve having New Zealand Defence Force personnel in Taji, Baghdad [REDACTED] [6(a)] and support locations. Each location has a different threat profile [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [9(2)(g)(i)].

³ Threat assessments identify specific threats and the overall threat level. Risk mitigation looks at what measures could be implemented to reduce that threat.

58 Potential threats to New Zealand and other international personnel in Iraq include insider attacks, direct attacks on coalition bases, and indirect fire. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] There could also be a risk of cultural miscalculation. In addition to force protection measures (see section below), cultural awareness training is provided as part of pre-deployment training.

59 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [9(2)(g)(i)].

60 The New Zealand Defence Force conducts regular reviews of threat levels. In a dynamic operational environment the threat level can change quickly. It is proposed that a full and updated threat assessment be provided to the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Attorney General and Minister of Foreign Affairs (Ministers with Power to Act) following the joint Australia-New Zealand reconnaissance visit currently planned [REDACTED] [6(a)]. The final deployment of a New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission will be subject to Ministers' satisfaction with this revised threat assessment. Looking ahead, significant changes to the security and threat environment in Taji in future could potentially trigger a re-evaluation for Ministers with Power to Act of New Zealand's continued involvement in a mission.

Force protection

61 The joint reconnaissance visit will also produce comprehensive advice for Ministers with Power to Act on the measures to be taken at Taji to manage these potential threats (force protection measures). [REDACTED]

[6(a)]

- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- The use of force protection, including a dedicated force protection element within the New Zealand Building Partner Capacity contingent;
- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- [REDACTED] [6(a)]

- [REDACTED] [6(a)]

62 Force protection planning will continue to evolve up to and during the deployment period as more information becomes available.

Risks and limitations of a New Zealand contribution to a Building Partner Capacity mission

63 ISIL has encouraged supporters to carry out acts of terrorism against countries (and their nationals overseas) that are a part of the international coalition - although this has been mainly directed at those contributing to air strikes. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)]

64 Military contributions to the coalition could therefore result in New Zealand being named by ISIL as a target. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a) and 6(d)] National security agencies are working to identify, monitor and mitigate domestic threats, and will advise Ministers on any changes to the domestic situation and their implications as appropriate.

65 These risks should not, on their own, be the reason not to respond to the threat. Indeed, the risk associated with ISIL becoming stronger or its ideological outreach widening and enduring would, in any event, see the terrorist risk to New Zealand increase. Ultimately, ISIL must be defeated in order to eliminate this risk. New Zealand should, therefore, not be deterred by any explicit or implicit threats from making a contribution.

66 A Building Partner Capacity mission may not deliver the desired results. Significant efforts to build the capacity of Iraqi Security Forces have been made in recent times (including by the US and NATO) but with limited success. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] has raised questions about the effectiveness of training if it is not 1) delivered in collaborative partnership with the Iraqi military, and 2) accompanied by broader governance initiatives. At the same time, however, Iraq now has a new leader in al-Abadi and there is some confidence that he is committed to taking a more inclusive approach to the governance of Iraq. His efforts deserve support.

67 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [6(a)]

Measuring effectiveness

68 A robust framework by which progress under the four military mission pillars will be measured and evaluated in support of the overall campaign is of critical importance to all coalition members contributing military assets. The quality of training design and the inclusion of the Iraq Security Forces in this process will be key to ensuring a more meaningful result than earlier training efforts in Iraq.

69 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[6(b)(i)] The metrics for measuring the effectiveness of a capacity-building mission will depend upon the Australia-New Zealand Mission programme design, which will be substantively addressed in the lead up to deployment.

70 Based on the reports from the scoping team and previous New Zealand Defence Force experience in providing training to international forces, military planners have identified the following key factors that will shape the training programme design and delivery:

- A collaborative partnership and agreed co-evaluation framework with the Iraq Security Forces will be essential.
- The trained state of Iraq Security Forces units across Iraq will vary widely. New Zealand and Australia should therefore look to develop a training programme that is tailored to the specific Iraq Security Forces units it receives for the Building Partner Capacity mission.

71 An independent Australia-New Zealand assessment process – i.e. separate from any prescriptive assessment framework which may emerge at the coalition planning level – will be critical to ensure objective assessment of the effectiveness and ongoing viability of an Australia-New Zealand capacity-building mission.

A joint New Zealand/Australia mission

72 If New Zealand is to engage in a training role in Iraq, then Australia is clearly the preferred partner from an operational perspective given common language, similar doctrine, and the close familiarity between the two defence forces. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] Equally, it would be very important for New Zealand to enjoy the maximum degree of force autonomy consistent with being a

partner in a joint force [REDACTED]

[6(a)].

73 [REDACTED]

[6(a)].

74 New Zealand's ability to retain independence over its military commitment would also be reinforced at a higher level through:

- Making the Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission a standing agenda item for meetings between Prime Ministers, respective Defence Ministers, Chiefs and Secretaries of Defence and senior officials; and
- Maintaining regular discussions between the respective strategic and operational Headquarters of the New Zealand and Australian Defence Forces.

75 [REDACTED]

[6(a)].

Training requirements

76 All New Zealand Defence Force training has been planned in conjunction with Australian Defence Force training staff to ensure alignment:

- *Phase 1: Mission specific training* [REDACTED]

[6(a)]

- *Phase 2: Integration and Mission Rehearsal Exercise.* [REDACTED]

[6(a)]

- [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [6(a)]

The legal status of New Zealand Defence Force personnel in Iraq

77 All countries taking part in Building Partner Capacity missions or other military activities in Iraq [REDACTED] [6(b)(i)].

78 Deployment of foreign troops abroad is typically undertaken in accordance with a formal legally binding agreement between the deploying state and the host state called a Status of Forces Agreement. The purpose of a Status of Forces Agreement is to ensure that there is a common understanding between the deploying state and the host state of how local law will or will not apply to troops operating under the command of the deploying state, both in the execution of their formal duties and also when off duty.⁴

79 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [6(a)]

80 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] [9(2)(h)].

⁴ Status of Forces Agreements usually address: the nature and purpose of the deployment; the number of persons to be deployed; the right to carry arms and use force in self-defence; the right to wear uniforms; entry into and exit from the host State; movement within the host State; jurisdictional immunities (such as immunity from criminal prosecution, and immunity from civil and administrative jurisdiction for acts performed in the course of their duties); the exclusive jurisdiction of the sending State in respect of any criminal or disciplinary offences; liability for third party claims for damage or injury (which may be handled according to local law); exemption from direct taxes; the right to hire local personnel and pay reasonable costs for services; and the right of unrestricted communications.

[REDACTED]

81

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(h)].

82

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(j)].

83

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(j)].

84

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(j)].

85

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(j)].

[REDACTED]

86

[REDACTED]

[6(a)]. Under international law, the use of force in international relations is prohibited except under limited circumstances. These exceptions include whether such action is with the consent of the State concerned, whether it is authorised by a United Nations Security Council resolution or whether the action is in self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

87

[REDACTED]

[6(a)].

88

[6(a)]. The Iraqi Government has requested the US lead international efforts to strike ISIL sites and military strongholds with its express consent in order to protect Iraq from the threat of attack and to enable Iraq to regain control of its borders. The Iraqi Government has also requested help from the United Nations Security Council and the international coalition to build the capacity of its security forces.

[6(b)(i)].

Diplomatic support for a Building Partner Capacity mission

89 New Zealand is currently accredited diplomatically to Iraq via our Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. But, should the Building Partner Capacity mission proposal be agreed, a diplomatic presence in Baghdad would be desirable. A lesson from our experience in Afghanistan is that an 'on the ground' diplomatic conduit between the military deployment and the host government is necessary. A diplomatic presence also provides real value in understanding the political dynamics inherent in ensuring the deployment continues to meet the needs of the New Zealand government, the host government, as well as the coalition. It would also allow New Zealand to gain a greater understanding of how we might most effectively contribute to governance and development programmes in Iraq.

90 Officials will examine colocation opportunities [REDACTED] [6(a)], security threats and personal protection requirements, and financial implications (noting that any presence would require additional funds and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)] It is proposed therefore that, subject to satisfactory outcomes on security, finance and location considerations, a diplomatic presence be established in Baghdad for the duration of the mission. Officials will report back to Ministers with Powers to Act following further scoping of this proposal.

The need for a comprehensive approach

91 In addition to security contributions, a multi-faceted effort by the international community over a number of years in governance assistance, capacity building and reform will be required if the deeper problems undermining security and stability in Iraq (and indeed Syria) are to be addressed. Iraq has recognised this too, seeking support across security, humanitarian and economic development lines of effort. Thus, there is a clear need for a comprehensive approach to address the threats posed by ISIL, to counter violent extremism more broadly and to contribute to sustainable stability in Iraq and the wider region. The coalition is only in the early stages of developing the wider, non-military aspects of its strategy and countries have been encouraged to look themselves at what additional support they can provide.

92 In the New Zealand context, our contribution should be linked to our own national security and regional interests by:

- Stemming the ability of ISIL to conduct its activities through counter-financing measures;
- Contributing, where appropriate, to the restoration of stable, unified governance in Iraq and Syria, including an end to the conflicts there;
- Providing humanitarian assistance to those affected by the conflict;
- Undermining ISIL's ideology – and violent extremism more broadly – thereby reducing the threat of terrorism in New Zealand and South East Asia; and
- Reinforcing New Zealand's reputation as a trusted and valued contributor to international peace and security.

93 New Zealand is therefore considering contributions through humanitarian and diplomatic efforts, both in the short term and over the longer term. Many of the non-military platforms New Zealand could – and is – using to counter ISIL, are part of a bigger strategy to counter violent extremism more broadly.

New Zealand's humanitarian contributions

94 ISIL's presence has amplified existing levels of humanitarian need across Syria, Iraq, and neighbouring countries. In Syria, the world's largest humanitarian emergency, 12.2 million people require humanitarian assistance and 7.6 million people are internally displaced. Nearly 3.8 million Syrians have fled for surrounding countries, including Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, placing severe strain on host communities. The region as a whole will require substantial amounts of humanitarian aid from the international community for the foreseeable future, although the delivery of this aid in Syria in particular is constrained by a number of factors.

95 New Zealand has committed NZ\$14.5m in humanitarian aid to Syria and Iraq since the start of the Syria crisis in 2011, including NZ\$3.5m so far in this financial year. The international community's humanitarian appeals for the Syrian region for 2015 remain underfunded. Although an international pledging conference in Kuwait on 31 March will reduce the current level of underfunding, it is timely for New Zealand to consider further assistance to the extent that this does not impact on New Zealand's ability to respond to natural disasters in the Pacific during the ongoing cyclone season.

96 Advice on options for further humanitarian assistance to the Iraq/Syrian region will be provided to the Minister of Foreign Affairs within the coming weeks.

New Zealand's diplomatic contributions

97 New Zealand already plays an active role internationally on counter terrorism issues. As the global threat posed by ISIL has intensified, New Zealand has appropriately boosted its engagement with regional and multilateral fora involved in counter terrorism. We will continue to augment these efforts as work in this area continues to proliferate in response to the ISIL threat – both to ensure that New Zealand continues to contribute constructively in this renewed international security priority, as well as to ensure that New Zealand learns from others and benefit from the development of 'best practice' methods for our own domestic security purposes.

98 In that vein, New Zealand will increase its diplomatic contribution to the activities and planning of the coalition through seeking membership of the coalition Working Groups on Counter-Financing and Foreign Terrorist Fighters.

99 New Zealand will also continue its work in multilateral fora:

- In the United Nations Security Council to advocate effective Council action on ISIL, including pushing the Council to address the wider security issues in the Middle East through the Middle East Peace Process and supporting a political solution to the stalemate in Syria;

- As chair of the Security Council's Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee, which also addresses ISIL members and affiliates;
- In other international fora that consider counter-terrorism issues, particularly the Global Counter Terrorism Forum, but also the OECD Financial Action Task Force; UN Office on Drugs and Crime; APEC; and the Global Community and Resilience Fund.

100 New Zealand will further explore options to promote stability in the Middle East region on a bilateral basis:

- Iraq – The Iraqi government will need international support over the longer term as it looks to build an effective and inclusive government. New Zealand will continue to assess carefully, in consultation with the Iraqi government and coalition partners, how we can play a part in governance capacity building efforts and development and economic opportunities once the immediate security situation is improved;
- We could consider the possibility of a greater diplomatic engagement on security issues in the region, not only to support a New Zealand deployment but to strengthen our priority security relationships in the Middle East, including with those countries at the forefront of the fight against ISIL [REDACTED] [6(a)].

101 New Zealand will also augment engagement in the Southeast Asia region to play our part in mitigating the increased threat of terrorist activities closer to home:

- We will continue to contribute to key regional fora, such as The Pacific Working Group on Counter Terrorism and Transnational Organised Crime; the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime;
- Where appropriate, we will seek to bolster our relationship with regional centres of excellence such as the Jakarta Centre for Law Enforcement Cooperation (JCLEC) and the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT);
- We will explore additional bilateral and multinational avenues for counter terrorism cooperation with countries in the region with the greatest risk of terrorism [REDACTED] [6(a)] Initiatives including capacity building with respect to counter-radicalisation, recruitment and financing; security sector mentoring; or more traditional humanitarian support could benefit partner countries and build our

own situational awareness and capability to respond to regional threats and threats at home.

102 Finally, New Zealand will strengthen its domestic capacity to ensure whole-of-government coordination with respect to the above international contributions through:

- The establishment of a New Zealand International Counter Terrorism Engagement Working Group to ensure whole-of-government coordination of our international counter terrorism activities; and
- Re-establishing the position of Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism, who will have responsibility for coordinating New Zealand's domestic work with our diplomatic and capacity building contributions offshore.

Financial implications

103 The total estimated marginal cost of the proposed New Zealand Defence Force Building Partner Capacity deployment for a period of two years from 1 May 2015 to 30 April 2017 is assessed at \$65,250,000. The estimated costs of the proposal in 2014-2015 of \$8,930,000 can be met from within the Multi Category Appropriation 'Operations Contributing to New Zealand's Security, Stability and Interests' in Vote: Defence Force and have no impact on the operating balance or budget allowances.

104 The total estimated costs of the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment in 2015-2016 of \$30,720,000 and in 2016-2017 of \$25,600,000 are unable to be met from the current departmental appropriations planned for Vote: Defence Force and will therefore require an additional appropriation of \$15,526,000 in 2015-2016 and \$9,847,000 in 2016-2017, respectively.

105 Some costs for the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment are yet to be finalised. Should the final cost estimates materially change from those outlined in this paper, a separate submission will be provided by the New Zealand Defence Force to update the costs.

106 Costs for a diplomatic presence in Baghdad will also be provided. No further funding is sought at this stage for humanitarian or other diplomatic contributions as these will be met through existing baselines.

Publicity

107 Publicity around the announcement of any deployment will need to be carefully managed, including notification of key partners including Iraq. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [6(a)].

108

[REDACTED]

[9(2)(g)(i)].

Recommendations

109 It is recommended that Cabinet:

- a. **Note** that ISIL represents a multi-dimensional threat to international peace and security, including to New Zealand and New Zealand interests;
- b. **Note** that the Government of Iraq has requested international security assistance to help it combat ISIL, as well as to provide humanitarian and development support;
- c. **Note** that Australia and New Zealand have explored a potential Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji, Iraq, to train Iraqi Security Forces;
- d. **Note** that this mission would provide a positive contribution towards our objectives of reducing the global threat from ISIL in keeping with New Zealand's size and capacity;

e. [REDACTED]
[6(a)]

f. **Note** that national security agencies are working to identify, monitor and mitigate domestic threats, and will advise Ministers on any changes to the domestic situation and their implications as appropriate;

g. [REDACTED]
[6(a)]

h. [REDACTED]
[9(2)(j)];

i. **Note** that officials will [REDACTED] continue to explore [REDACTED] [6(a)], legal arrangements with Iraq to provide protections to the New Zealand deployment, [REDACTED]
[9(2)(j)];

j. **Note** further advice will be provided to Ministers with Power to Act setting out the proposed threat mitigation measures, command arrangements, training arrangements and the outcomes of discussions with Iraq on the legal status of New Zealand Defence Force personnel in Iraq following the reconnaissance visit and further discussions with the Iraqi Government;

- k. **Agree**, subject to the satisfaction of Ministers with Power to Act regarding the advice noted in recommendation j, that New Zealand make a military contribution to a joint Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission in Taji, consisting of the deployment of 143 personnel to Iraq, coalition headquarters and support locations in the region for a period of two years from the time of arrival in Iraq, with a review occurring after nine months for subsequent consideration by Cabinet;
- l. **Authorise** the Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, the Attorney General and Minister of Foreign Affairs to have Power to Act to confirm the final Building Partner Capacity deployment;
- m. **Agree** to the deployment of staff officers as soon as practicable [REDACTED] [6(a)]
- n. **Authorise** the Minister of Defence, in consultation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to make adjustments to the deployment in response to operational requirements, provided that these adjustments do not significantly change numbers, the cost or the intent of the mission;
- o. **Reaffirm** CAB Min (12) 10/2 on the "Sustainment of New Zealand Defence Force Deployed Forces" which allows the New Zealand Defence Force to temporarily exceed Cabinet-mandated personnel numbers for the purpose of command reconnaissance, rotation and extraction of forces in and out of theatre;
- p. **Note** that the Chief of Defence Force will inform the Minister of Defence in advance whenever Cabinet-mandated personnel numbers are exceeded for the reasons set out in recommendation o;
- q. **Note** that we will explore options to establish a diplomatic presence in Baghdad, Iraq, to supplement the formal accreditation to Iraq which sits with the New Zealand Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, to support the Building Partner Capacity mission;
- r. **Note** that the full suite of possible diplomatic contributions will continue to be assessed as the coalition work programme develops, but will include: work in the United Nations Security Council; augmented engagement with regional and multilateral fora in counter terrorism cooperation; bolstering of our security relationships in the Middle East; closer cooperation with partners in South East Asia; and participating in the coalition working groups on Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Countering Terrorist Financing;
- s. **Note** that the total estimated marginal cost of the proposed New Zealand Defence Force Building Partner Capacity deployment for a period of two years from 1 May 2015 to 30 April 2017 is assessed at \$65.250M;
- t. **Note** that the total estimated cost of the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment of \$8.930M in 2014-2015 can be met from within the existing funded Multi Category Appropriation 'Operations Contributing to New Zealand's Security, Stability and Interests' in Vote: Defence Force without any impact on the operating balance or budget allowances;
- u. **Note** the total estimated cost of the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment in 2015-2016 of \$30.720M and in 2016-2017 of \$25.600M is unable to be met from the currently planned appropriations in Vote: Defence Force and will require an

additional appropriation of \$15.526M in 2015-2016 and \$9.847M in 2016-2017, respectively;

- v. **Note** that some costs for the proposed Building Partner Capacity deployment are yet to be finalised and should the final cost estimates materially change from those outlined in this paper a separate submission will be provided to Minister's by the New Zealand Defence Force to update the costs
- w. **Approve** the following changes to appropriations in respect of recommendation k, with a corresponding impact on the operating balance; and

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	\$Millions – increase/(decrease)				
Vote Defence Force	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19 &
Minister of Defence					out years
Multi Category Appropriation:					
Operations Contributing to New Zealand's Security, Stability and Interests					
Departmental Output Expense:					
Military Operations in Support of a					
Rules-based International Order					
Building Partner Capacity mission		15.526	9.847	0.000	0.000
Total Operating	0.000	15.526	9.847	0.000	0.000

- x. **Agree** that the expenses incurred under recommendation k be charged as a pre-commitment against Budget 2015 operating allowance.

Hon Gerry Brownlee
Minister of Defence

___/___/___

Hon Murray McCully
Minister of Foreign Affairs

___/___/___